A PERCEIVED DIVIDE

HOW INDONESIANS PERCEIVE INEQUALITY AND WHAT THEY WANT DONE ABOUT IT

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# List Of Acronyms, Abbreviations, And Indonesian Terms

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>TERM</th>
<th>DEFINITION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AFC</td>
<td>Asian financial crisis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BBC</td>
<td>British Broadcasting Corporation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BLT</td>
<td>Bantuan langsung tunai (direct cash assistance)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BSM</td>
<td>Bantuan siswa miskin (assistance for poor students)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CC</td>
<td>Consumer Class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ECC</td>
<td>Emerging Consumer Class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamkesmas</td>
<td>Jaminan kesehatan masyarakat (social health insurance)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LSI</td>
<td>Lembaga Survei Indonesia (Indonesia Survey Institute)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PNPM</td>
<td>Program Nasional Pemberdayaan Masyarakat (National Community Empowerment Program)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raskin</td>
<td>Beras untuk rumah tangga miskin (Rice for poor households)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RPJMN</td>
<td>Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah Nasional (National Medium Term Development Plan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SD</td>
<td>Sekolah Dasar (primary school)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SMA</td>
<td>Sekolah Menengah Atas (senior secondary school)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SME</td>
<td>small- and medium-sized enterprises</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SMP</td>
<td>Sekolah Menengah Pertama (junior secondary school)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Susenas</td>
<td>Survei Sosial Ekonomi Nasional (National Socio-Economic Survey)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UU Desa</td>
<td>Village law of 2014</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Inequality in Indonesia is rising and a recent survey suggests that Indonesians are growing increasingly concerned. The Gini coefficient in Indonesia has increased sharply over the past 15 years, increasing from 30 in 2000 to 41 in 2013. In a 2014 survey on public perceptions of inequality, most Indonesians consider income distribution in Indonesia to be “very unequal” or “not equal at all.” In addition, half of all respondents feel that Indonesia has become “more unequal” or “much more unequal” over the past five years.

The true extent of high inequality, however, is worse than most people realize. Respondents believe that the ideal income distribution is one where the top 20 percent of the population earn as much as the bottom 40 percent. Not standing this ideal, respondents estimate that the actual income distribution has the top 20 percent earning as much as the bottom 60 percent. However, the 2014 National Socio-economic Survey (Susenas 2014) suggests that the richest 20 percent actually earn as much as the rest of the population combined. Furthermore, because household surveys typically do not capture the incomes of the richest Indonesians, the real level of inequality in Indonesia is probably even higher.
PEOPLE CORRECTLY PERCEIVE INEQUALITY IN INDONESIA AS A PROBLEM OF THE RICH GETTING RICHER, WHILE THE POOR ARE BEING LEFT BEHIND. Over 80 percent of respondents believe that the incomes of the richest quintile have grown “higher” or “much higher.” In contrast, only 25 percent of respondents believe that the incomes of the poorest have grown, while the rest think that poor people have either stagnated or become poorer in the past five years. This is consistent with the actual distribution of consumption growth in Indonesia, where between 2003 and 2010, the richest income deciles experienced seven times the growth of the poorest deciles.

PEOPLE OVERWHELMINGLY BELIEVE THAT URGENT ACTION IS NEEDED TO ADDRESS INEQUALITY. Nearly 88 percent of respondents believe that it is “urgent” or “very urgent” for the Government to address the current level of inequality. In addition, 61 percent of respondents are willing to accept lower economic growth in exchange for lower inequality. This suggests that Indonesians would support the Government’s expressed intention of reducing inequality, whereby the current Medium Term Development Plan target aims to reduce the Gini coefficient from 41 to 36 by 2019.

THERE IS STRONG PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR SOCIAL PROTECTION POLICIES THAT PROVIDE DIRECT ASSISTANCE TO THE POOR AND NEAR-POOR. When asked about the main causes of poverty, 57 percent of respondents cite external reasons that are beyond an individual’s control, such as coming from a poor family (22 percent) or having bad luck (16 percent). So, when the perceptions survey asked respondents to identify top priorities to address inequality, nearly half of all respondents support social protection programs as a key policy measure.

INDONESIANS ALSO STRONGLY SUPPORT POLICIES THAT REDUCE INEQUALITY BY CREATING BETTER WORK OPPORTUNITIES FOR PEOPLE TO IMPROVE THEIR INCOMES. While 57 percent of respondents believe that external factors play a significant part in poverty, 52 percent of respondents believe that it is easy for people to pull themselves out of poverty if they work hard enough, with another 41 percent saying that while this is difficult it is still doable. Thus, 48 percent of respondents consider job creation policies a top priority, while complementary policies such as credits for small-sized and medium-sized enterprises and improving the quality of education are also supported.

ERADICATING CORRUPTION IS ALSO CITED AS A TOP PRIORITY FOR INEQUALITY REDUCTION. Respondents feel strongly that there is a need to achieve a more meritocratic state where competition for wealth is fair and income is gained only through hard work. Thus, eradicating corruption is prioritized by 37 percent of respondents.

POPULAR POLICY RESPONSES TO INEQUALITY RESONATE CLOSELY WITH FINDINGS FROM RECENT RESEARCH FINDINGS. A World Bank flagship report on inequality in Indonesia identifies four main policy response areas. First, public service delivery improvements are needed to provide an equal start in health and education for all children. Second, the poor need access to more and better jobs in order to address inequality in the labor market. Third, unequal accumulation of wealth through financial assets can be addressed through tax reforms and eradicating corruption. Finally, measures should be put in place to help all people, but especially the poor and vulnerable, mitigate and cope with shocks.

THIS SURVEY DEMONSTRATES THAT THERE IS A CLEAR OPPORTUNITY TO PURSUE POLICIES THAT ARE BOTH TECHNICALLY SOUND AND BROADLY SUPPORTED. The survey shows that there is a mandate for action from a majority of Indonesians who feel that inequality is too high and is an urgent problem. There is also broad public support for many policy actions that are likely to have the largest positive impacts on inequality reduction.

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* See Indonesia’s Rising Divide: Why inequality is rising, why it matters and what can be done (World Bank, 2015a).
WHY DO PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS OF INEQUALITY MATTER?

Although inequality has risen in Indonesia over the past decade, public concern towards the issue of inequality has been low historically. But with the current government setting targets to reduce inequality, and the media and politicians paying more attention to the issue, public perceptions may be shifting. This study examines public perceptions towards inequality using recent data to help us understand how the public perceives the issue and if there is general support for a public policy response.

INEQUALITY IN INDONESIA HAS RISEN SHARPLY IN RECENT YEARS. Inequality during the Suharto era remained stable even through periods of high economic growth, only increasing slightly in the mid-1990s. During the 1997/98 Asian financial crisis, inequality fell because the better off were affected more heavily by the economic shocks of the crisis and were also the slowest segment of the population to recover. After recovering from the crisis, however, Indonesia’s inequality has risen steadily from a Gini coefficient of 30 in 2000 up to 41 in 2013 (Figure 1).²

THIS GROWING GAP BETWEEN RICH AND POOR IS BEING DRIVEN BY FOUR FACTORS. First, there is an inequality of opportunity, which means that not everyone develops the skills they need to find well-paying jobs. Second, with an increasing emphasis on skills in the modern economy, the rewards for those who do find good quality jobs are increasing, which is driving up wage inequality. At the same time, those without higher skills are getting trapped in poorly paid informal and low productivity jobs. Third, there are inequalities in the access to income from financial assets that also drive inequality up. Fourth, shocks can affect inequality at any stage of the framework by eroding a household’s ability to earn an income, save, and invest in health and education.³

Inequality has steadily risen since Indonesia recovered from the Asian financial crisis (percent) (fig.1)

² The Gini coefficient is a measure of inequality, where 0 is complete equality (i.e., all people have the same income or consumption) and 100 is complete inequality (all the income or consumption is controlled by one person).
³ An in-depth analysis of the causes and consequences of rising inequality in Indonesia can be found in the World Bank (2015a) report Indonesia’s Rising Divide: Why inequality is rising, why it matters and what can be done.
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THE PUBLIC SHOWED LITTLE CONCERN ABOUT RISING INEQUALITY DURING THE DECADE FOLLOWING THE ASIAN FINANCIAL CRISIS. Public pressure to reduce inequality has been low historically. When Indonesians were asked about income inequality in the past, a majority reported feeling that current inequality was either about right, or they were in favor of even higher inequality as an incentive for people to work harder (Figure 2). In the past, few people believed that there should be efforts to make income levels in Indonesia more equal.

IN THE MEANIME, CONCERNS ABOUT INEQUALITY, BOTH NATIONALLY AND GLOBALLY, HAVE INCREASED. Inequality was a key issue in the run-up to the July 2014 Indonesian presidential elections, with major national and international media outlets reporting on rising inequality and both presidential candidates making public statements about their explicit strategies to reduce inequality during televised presidential debates. For example, an article on Indonesia’s elections (BBC, June 15, 2014) reported that President Joko Widodo’s campaign promise of a “maritime highway” was justified as a way of reducing Indonesia’s east-west inequality. This recent rise to national prominence of inequality as an issue also coincides with increasing global attention towards income inequality, with books such as Thomas Piketty’s “Capital in the Twenty-First Century” shaping the international discourse.

WHILE THE GOVERNMENT IS BEGINNING TO TAKE ACTION TO ADDRESS INEQUALITY, THE SUCCESS OF ITS STRATEGY WILL DEPEND PARTLY ON PUBLIC SUPPORT. The new administration has, for the first time, included inequality reduction as one of its national targets in the National Medium-Term Development Plan (Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah Nasional, or RPJMN), with a target Gini coefficient of 36 by 2019. Designing the right strategy to achieve this depends on correctly diagnosing the root causes of the problem and identifying appropriate policy responses. Successful implementation of this strategy, however, also depends on how much support the Government can garner from other stakeholders, including parliament, political parties, and the general public. Therefore, it matters whether the public thinks that tackling inequality is a national priority and, if so, what policies they would support to reduce inequality.

THE RICHNESS OF THE PERCEPTIONS SURVEY PROVIDES US WITH A CLEARER UNDERSTANDING OF HOW PEOPLE CURRENTLY THINK ABOUT INEQUALITY. This paper examines current perceptions of the Indonesian public towards inequality. Have public perceptions on this topic changed, particularly given the recent rise in inequality? The aim of this paper is to answer this question using the most recent data available. In 2014, Lembaga Survei Indonesia (Indonesian Survey Institute, or LSI, an independent and non-partisan public opinion research institute) conducted a survey to gauge perceptions towards inequality and inequality-reducing policies. LSI surveyed 3,080 individuals across 33 provinces in Indonesia, using a questionnaire that included over 70 questions. The survey sample was designed to be nationally representative, with a demographic composition—gender, provinces, urban-rural, religions, and ethnicity—to reflect the adult Indonesian population (over 17 years of age) based on the 2010 Census.

1 This statement was made during the June 15, 2014 presidential debate on economic development and social welfare.
2 The full survey instrument is included in Annex A.
3 A full demographic breakdown of the survey sample is provided in Annex B.

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Incomes Should Be Made More Equal</th>
<th>We Need Larger Income Differences as Incentives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1999 - 2004</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005 - 2009</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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4 The World Values Survey studies “changing values and their impact on social and political life,” conducted since 1981 in almost 100 countries. Indonesia was included in the survey for Waves 4 (in 2001) and 5 (in 2006).
5 The full survey instrument is included in Annex A.
Indonesians agree that inequality in Indonesia is both high and increasing, although actual levels of inequality appear to be even higher than those generally perceived. Most agree that the richest half of the population has become richer, while the poorest half of the population has fallen behind.

**A large majority believes that Indonesia’s income distribution is unequal.** The survey asked respondents to choose whether income distribution in Indonesia is “very equal,” “quite equal,” “quite unequal” or “not equal at all.” About 92 percent of respondents feel that Indonesia is either “quite unequal” or “not equal at all” (Figure 3). Responses are consistent across all groups of people, regardless of gender, income, education, age, or location (e.g., urban or rural domicile).

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**How equally is income distributed in Indonesia?**

_A vast majority agrees that income distribution is unequal_ (fig.3)

![Graph showing income distribution](image)

A full list of demographic cross-tabulations for all responses can be found in Annex C.
THE ACTUAL LEVEL OF INEQUALITY, HOWEVER, IS FAR HIGHER THAN MOST RESPONDENTS BELIEVE.

Survey respondents were asked to estimate Indonesia’s income distribution.9 Their average estimate had the richest quintile (i.e., the wealthiest 20 percent of people) earning 38 percent of all income, roughly equal to what respondents believe the bottom 60 percent earns (Figure 4). Although this distribution is perceived as being highly unequal, it is equivalent to a Gini coefficient of 30, which is a relatively low Gini compared with other countries in the region. It is also equal to the lowest Gini coefficient Indonesia has had since the Asian financial crisis in 1997-1998. But despite these perceptions, the reality is that Indonesia’s inequality is far higher. As of 2014, Indonesia had a Gini coefficient of 41—as measured by the national socio-economic survey (Survei Sosial Ekonomi Nasional, or Susenas)—with the richest 20 percent accounting for half of Indonesia’s consumption.10

HALF OF THE RESPONDENTS ALSO FEEL THAT INEQUALITY HAS BEEN GETTING WORSE RECENTLY. Between 2009 and 2014, the Gini coefficient in Indonesia increased from 37 to 41. A slim majority of respondents (51 percent) agrees that income distribution in Indonesia has become “more unequal” or “much more unequal” over the past five years (Figure 5). Another 31 percent of respondents believe that there has been no change in the level of inequality and 18 percent believe that income distribution in Indonesia has actually become more equal.

How has the income distribution in Indonesia changed in the last five years?

Previous opinion surveys found that few Indonesians believed incomes should be more equal (fig.5)

Share of national income
Income inequality in Indonesia is higher than people think (fig.4)

SOURCE: LSI Perceptions Survey, 2014; Susenas 2014

* The survey asked respondents to create an income distribution by dividing 50 coins among five income quintiles. See Annex A, Questions V_10 and V_11 for the full survey question.

10 Susenas only asks about household consumption, not income. In fact, income inequality is always higher than consumption inequality because richer households do not spend all of their income, but save some instead. Previous estimates put Indonesia’s income Gini 6.4 points higher than its consumption Gini (World Bank, 2015). So, a consumption Gini of 41 implies an income Gini of around 47. Moreover, it is believed that many richer households are not measured by Susenas, suggesting that actual inequality may be even higher. Current World Bank research is using credit data to estimate a more accurate number of wealthier Indonesians (World Bank; forthcoming).
Most respondents believe that poverty is caused by one’s circumstances at birth. But the survey also emphasizes the strong belief in hard work: almost half of respondents believe that people become rich through hard work and one third thinks that it is possible for the poor to escape poverty through hard work.

Respondents do not think that the poor are necessarily getting poorer, but believe that the rich are quickly pulling away. When respondents were asked about income changes of individual groups, there is broad agreement that the rich have become much richer over the past five years (Figure 6). In contrast, there is a divide about whether the poor have become richer, poorer, or stayed the same. These perceptions are consistent with World Bank findings that Indonesia’s rising inequality is caused not by a worsening of the conditions of the poor, but by the rapid accumulation of wealth by the rich. Between 2003 and 2010, consumption per person of the richest 10 percent of Indonesians grew at over 6 percent per year after adjusting for inflation, but grew at less than 2 percent per year for the poorest 40 percent (World Bank 2015a).

How have the income levels of each quintile changed in the last 5 years?

People agree that the rich groups have become richer, but are divided over how the poor are doing (fig.6)
Indonesians are divided on whether wealth is gained through hard work or through circumstances at birth and inherited opportunities. Respondents were asked to choose the most influential determinant of wealth from a number of internal factors such as talent and hard work, and external factors such as family upbringing or good fortune. Respondents are nearly equally divided on the role of internal and external factors: 45 percent believe that external factors, such as family background, connections and luck, play the most important role (Figure 7), while 46 percent perceive hard work to be the dominant factor. Only 9 percent believe that wealth acquisition by today’s rich has been primarily through corruption.

Most, however, believe that poverty is determined by circumstances beyond an individual’s control. Respondents were also asked to choose the most influential determinant of poverty out of a number of internal and external factors (Figure 8). Hard work is once again cited as the single most important factor that influences wealth and poverty, but external factors when considered altogether are seen as more influential in causing poverty. These perceptions are consistent with World Bank research findings that inequality of opportunity from birth can explain a substantial amount of income inequality in later life. One third of all consumption inequality in Indonesia is due to a small number of factors that are outside an individual’s control, a level that is persistently high.11

Nonetheless, it is perceived that people can overcome their negative circumstances through hard work and pull themselves out of poverty. A slim majority (52 percent of respondents) believes that it is easy for people to improve their economic status through hard work. Although a small fraction (7 percent) thinks that it is nearly impossible for people to improve their situation through hard work, the remaining respondents (41 percent) think that while this is difficult it is still doable.

What is the most important factor that led the current rich to become rich?

Hard work is the primary determinant of wealth, but external factors also play a role (fig.7)

What is the most important factor that led the current poor to become poor?

Most people believe that poverty is determined by circumstances beyond an individual’s control (fig.8)
Most Indonesians believe that inequality is sometimes acceptable. However, all respondents agree that inequality in Indonesia should be lower than it currently is. Richer and better-educated respondents tend to tolerate more inequality, while women, youth, and rural respondents tend to tolerate less.

Most Indonesians are willing to accept some degree of inequality if people become rich through hard work and fair means, and if the poor continue to be pulled out of poverty. When asked whether inequality is ever acceptable, only 26 percent answer “inequality is never acceptable,” while 74 percent respond that “inequality is sometimes acceptable.” There are two major conditions cited for finding some inequality acceptable: that wealth acquisition is fair and meritocratic, and that those at the bottom of the pyramid are benefiting through affordable food prices and low poverty rates (Table 1).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RESPONSE OPTION</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prices of basic needs are affordable for all</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The poverty rate drops</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The nation as a whole experiences progress</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If people get rich from hard work or poor from laziness</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Competition for wealth is fair</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OTHER RESPONSES</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 1**

What is the number one factor that would make inequality acceptable?

Inequality is acceptable if the poor are protected and if wealth acquisition is fair

**SOURCE** LSI Perceptions Survey, 2014. Note: Similar responses are grouped by color. Blue represents “protection of the poor” and red represents “fairness in wealth acquisition.”
The “ideal” income distribution is more equal than the income distribution most Indonesians perceive to be the case. Respondents were asked to estimate the income distribution that they think is ideal for Indonesia. The resulting average is more equal than the “perceived distribution” described in a previous section (Figure 9). In this “ideal distribution,” the richest 20 percent account for an equal amount of income as the bottom 40 percent. This means that although wealth is still not distributed equally in this ideal distribution, the gap between the richest and the poorest is significantly narrower than in the perceived distribution. The resulting Gini coefficient of this “ideal distribution” is 15, which is lower than any income distribution found anywhere in the real world.

However, when given more limited options for income distribution, a majority of

Share of national Income

The “ideal distribution” suggests that people support reducing inequality (fig. 9).

Ideal Distribution

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>POOREST QUINTILE</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>RICHEST QUINTILE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fourth</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is a divide between those who prefer perfect equality and those who prefer some inequality (fig. 10).

Richer and better-educated respondents tend to tolerate higher inequality, while women, youth, and rural respondents tend to tolerate inequality less. As education completion increases, preferences shift in favor of “Option D” (see Annex C.3 for full demographic breakdown).

The same trend can be seen as income increases: support for a perfectly equal income distribution (Option E) drops as respondents become richer. The data also indicate that women, people living in rural areas, and young people between the ages of 17 and 30 are slightly more likely to support a perfectly equal income distribution.

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12 This estimate was done using the distribution of 50 coins among five income quintiles. The full question can be seen in Annex A, Questions V_10 and V_11.

13 See Annex A, Question V.22 for the full survey question and Annex C.3 for the full breakdown of all five options.
Overall, Indonesians believe that inequality reduction is an urgent priority. Consistent with beliefs on the drivers of inequality, policy support is strongest for: programs that provide assistance to households that are poor or vulnerable to poverty and protect them from shocks; policies and programs that provide better work opportunities; and efforts to eradicate corruption.

MOST INDONESIANS ARE CONCERNED WITH REDUCING INEQUALITY AND BELIEVE IT SHOULD BE AN URGENT PRIORITY OF THE GOVERNMENT. When asked about whether it is urgent for the Government to reduce inequality, 88 percent of respondents consider it either “urgent” or “very urgent” (Figure 11). This attitude towards inequality suggests that inequality reduction is one of the key lenses through which the public assesses government policy.

IN ADDITION, A MAJORITY OF INDONESIANS IS ALSO WILLING TO ACCEPT THE TRADE-OFF OF SLOWER GROWTH OF INCOMES IN EXCHANGE FOR REDUCED INEQUALITY. People often perceive that there is a trade-off between policies that promote growth and those that promote equity. However, recent research by Dabla-Norris, et al. (2015) suggests that redistributing income to the poorest groups can actually accelerate economic growth. When confronted with this hypothetical trade-off and asked to choose between “incomes of poor people grow quickly, but inequality is high” and “incomes of poor people grow slowly, but inequality is low,” 61 percent of respondents choose the latter scenario. Thus, although a significant number of people choose to prioritize rapid income growth, the majority opts for equity.

How urgent is it for the government to reduce inequality?

The vast majority of Indonesians think that inequality reduction is an urgent priority (fig.11)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NOT URGENT AT ALL</th>
<th>NOT VERY URGENT</th>
<th>QUITE URGENT</th>
<th>VERY URGENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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The most-supported policies were social protection programs, job creation, eradicating corruption, free education, credit for small- and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs), and free health care (Table 2). Social protection programs and free health care are ways to protect people from shocks and negative circumstances. Job creation, credit for SMEs, and free education are all ways to provide opportunities for people to work hard and earn a higher income. Finally, the prioritization of eradicating corruption is consistent with the demand for fair wealth acquisition.

Table 2
What are the three most important policies for reducing inequality?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POLICY</th>
<th>Top 3 priorities?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Social protection programs</td>
<td>49%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creating more jobs</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eradicating corruption</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free education for all</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SME credit</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free healthcare for all</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increasing the minimum wage</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infrastructure improvements (roads, power, etc.)</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More subsidies (e.g., for agriculture, fuel, etc.)</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improving schools</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grants to village level, e.g. National Program for Community Empowerment (Program Nasional Pemberdayaan Masyarakat, PNPM)</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loans for the poor (not business loans)</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increasing the tax on the rich</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment insurance</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equitable asset ownership (e.g., for land, forests, mines, etc.)</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The most-supported policies fall into three main groups: providing social protection from shocks and circumstance; providing better work opportunities; and eradicating corruption. The most-supported policies were social protection programs, job creation, eradicating corruption, free education, credit for small- and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs), and free health care (Table 2). Social protection programs and free health care are ways to protect people from shocks and negative circumstances. Job creation, credit for SMEs, and free education are all ways to provide opportunities for people to work hard and earn a higher income. Finally, the prioritization of eradicating corruption is consistent with the demand for fair wealth acquisition.

First and foremost, people support social protection programs as a way of directly helping the poor and vulnerable. “Social protection programs”—including both social assistance programs such as subsidized rice distribution, financial assistance for poor students, and cash transfer programs, as well as social insurance programs—rank as the top response for most demographic groups. These programs fulfill a dual function of protecting households from shocks that can throw them into poverty, and assisting the poor and vulnerable to improve their circumstances. As respondents become richer and better educated, so their support for social protection declines slightly in favor of eradicating corruption and creating more jobs (Figure 12). However, social protection is still supported by at least one third of respondents from every category. Although the rich and better educated are less likely to need or benefit from social protection programs, they still provide significant support for such programs.

The survey gave examples of subsidized rice (Beras untuk Rumah Tangga Miskin, Raskin), unconditional cash transfers (bantuan langsung tunai, BLT), financial aid for poor students (bantuan siswa miskin, BSM), health insurance (jaminan kesehatan masyarakat, Jamkesmas).

The Rural PNPM program was phased out in 2015 as part of the implementation of the 2014 Village Law (UU Desa).

The World Bank publication Protecting Poor and Vulnerable Households in Indonesia (2012) provides more details on Indonesia’s social assistance programs.

Methodology for income groups (poor, vulnerable, emerging consumer class, consumer class) is explained in Annex B.
As income and education increase, support shifts from social protection programs to eradicating corruption and creating more jobs (fig.12)

Consistent with the belief that hard work can pull people out of poverty and drive their success, Indonesians support policies to create more and better jobs. Nearly half of all respondents consider job creation as one of the most important ways of reducing inequality. Support for job creation consistently ranks in the top two policy priorities across all demographics, with stronger support among the wealthier and better educated. However, it is important to note that it is not enough only to create more jobs; in order to reduce inequality the jobs created have to be good quality, formal jobs with decent wages and benefits. On top of this, these jobs need to be accessible to the poor and vulnerable. To this end, it is notable that public support for the policies that enable the poor to access better jobs, namely free education, credit for SMEs, and infrastructure investments, is also high.

Support for eradicating corruption fits with the strong rejection of inequality through ill-gotten gains. About 9 percent of respondents believe that corruption is currently the primary determinant of wealth. Responses about the circumstances that make inequality acceptable, however, show the importance of achieving fair competition for wealth (Table 1). Thus, the overall support for eradicating corruption is high, ranking third overall with 37 percent of respondents. Eradicating corruption also features more prominently among respondents in the upper income and better educated levels, which may indicate that the wealthy and better educated are either more likely to see or hear about large-scale corruption, or more likely to be impeded personally by collusive and corrupt economic practices.

See World Bank (2015a) Section 2.3 for further discussion on labor market inequality and Section 3.2 for appropriate policy measures.
SOME GOVERNMENT INITIATIVES MAY RECEIVE MORE SUPPORT IF THEY ARE SEEN AS CONTRIBUTING TO THE REDUCTION OF INEQUALITY. There are a number of policies that the current administration is trying to push forward, but that are not prioritized by the responses of this survey. Key examples include the new Village Law, infrastructure development, and increasing tax revenue. The implication of these findings is that such policies may receive greater public support if they are linked to social protection programs or funding, and create opportunities for hard work. For example, if the Village Law is designed and socialized as a policy to improve the performance of spending on health, education, and social protection programs, or as a way to create more and better jobs, this may resonate more with the general public. In addition, support for the Village Law will dwindle if it is perceived as an additional opportunity for local leaders to engage in corruption. Communication strategies about infrastructure projects should focus less on the benefits for growth, and more on how the projects can improve the quality and quantity of jobs and reduce the prices of food and other goods, particularly in less developed regions of Indonesia. Finally, although increasing taxes on the rich receive very little support from all demographic groups, linking additional government revenue to increases in spending on health, education, and social protection may improve support for the policy.

FINALLY, RESULTS REVEAL THAT SOME POLICY ISSUES, SUCH AS MINIMUM WAGES, ARE NOT BROADLY SUPPORTED AS A MEANS TO REDUCE INEQUALITY. The minimum wage has received much media coverage in recent years, due to vocal labor unions with a high propensity for public protest, as well as high regional disparities in minimum wage levels. In this media coverage, increasing minimum wages is touted as a vital method to help poor workers. However, findings indicate that public demand for increasing the minimum wage is not high (Figure 13). Support for increasing the minimum wage is highly correlated with income class and education levels, showing that the policy is mainly supported by those who stand to benefit most from it, i.e., workers in the formal sector, rather than poorer and informal workers.

Support for increasing subsidies is low compared with top priorities (fig.14)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Policy</th>
<th>Support</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Social Protection</td>
<td>49</td>
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<tr>
<td>Create Jobs</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eradicate Corruption</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free Education</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SME Credits</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free Healthcare</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increasing Minimum Wage</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infra (roads, power, etc.)</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subsidies (agriculture, fuel, etc.)</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Minimum wage increases are only supported by those likely to benefit from them

Public support for raising the minimum wage to lower inequality (fig.13)

The previous strategy of redirecting subsidy savings from fuel price increases to social protection programs or job creation programs is likely to gain popular support. Fuel subsidies have been a major point of controversy for many years—and long before the current administration took office last year. A substantial increase in fuel prices was announced less than one month after the formation of the cabinet in November 2014, followed by a change from a fixed price system to a fixed subsidy system shortly afterwards. This caused a wave of protests and a significant amount of media coverage. However, findings from this survey suggest that overall support for increasing subsidies—which also includes agriculture subsidies—is low (Figure 14).

Support for increasing subsidies is low compared with top priorities (fig.14)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Policy</th>
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<td>15</td>
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<tr>
<td>Subsidies (agriculture, fuel, etc.)</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SOURCE LSI Perceptions Survey, 2014

The previous strategy of redirecting subsidy savings from fuel price increases to social protection programs or job creation programs is likely to gain popular support.
WHAT DOES THIS MEAN FOR INDONESIA?

Public perceptions towards inequality in Indonesia have grown from relative disinterest to a level at which the issue is now of national importance. Perceptions towards inequality have changed markedly over time in Indonesia. While historically the issue of inequality did not register very highly in the minds of most Indonesians, a majority of Indonesians now believes that inequality is too high and should be urgently addressed.

This change in awareness means that the Government can now count on widespread public support to tackle inequality. As a consequence of this change in public perceptions, there is now far broader public support for the Government’s new focus on reducing inequality. The growing importance of the issue of inequality should bolster the Government’s resolve in tackling inequality head on, and make it more confident in emphasizing and setting an agenda that focuses on ways of increasing equity.

There is also widespread public support for effective policies to reduce inequality—even at the cost of slower increases in incomes. The diagnostics and policy recommendations from the World Bank’s Indonesia’s Rising Divide report identify four main policy responses: (i) improving local service delivery to provide a fair start in life for all; (ii) improving the skills of the workforce and creating more and better jobs; (iii) protecting households from shocks; and (iv) aligning taxes and spending to better address inequality. These responses largely coincide (although not completely) with the policies that have broad public support: the survey shows strong support for social protection policies to protect the poor and vulnerable from shocks, the creation of more and better jobs, the provision of accessible public services in the form of free health care and education, and the eradication of corruption. The survey also highlights that a majority of Indonesians favors policies aimed at reducing inequality over the prioritization of increasing incomes, in particular the minimum wage.

The Government has an opportunity to use public support to put forward effective policies to tackle the issue of inequality. This overlapping of policy responses with clear public support based on the perceptions survey findings provides the Government with an opportunity to pursue policies that are both technically sound and likely to be effective, and are also publicly supported.
References


Annex A. Full Survey Instrument

NATIONAL SURVEY INSTRUMENT

COMMUNITY SOCIAL ISSUES

May 2014, World Bank

LEMBAGA SURVEI INDONESIA (LSI)

Jln. Lembang Terusan No. D.57
Menteng, Jakarta Pusat, 10310, Indonesia
Telp. (021) 391 95 82, Faks. (021) 391 95 28
### Interviewer Guidelines

1. Understand each question well before asking.

2. If the original respondent cannot be interviewed, please fill in the original respondent’s identity first at the back of the questionnaire, then follow rules for substitution of respondents.

3. Circle (o) answer clearly and focus.

4. Write clearly and legibly for open questions.

5. Do not give options to the respondent to answer “don’t know” (code "8" or "88") or “unwilling to answer” (code "9" or "99"). This option is only for the interviewer. To be filled in privately if the respondent truly “do not know” or truly “will not answer”.

6. Do not need to read out the text in parantheses, unless the respondent does not understand or asks for an example.

7. There should be no empty column nor answer, except for skipped questions.

8. There should be no officials of village (desa)/urban village (kelurahan)/neighbourhood association (rt)/community association (rw)/head of village (kepala kampung)/others sit in or listen to and more over intervene when the interview is conducted. If such situation exists then the interview should be postponed and rescheduled later.

9. Make necessary efforts that no other persons, including household members, around when the interview is conducted.

10. If there is other household member presents during the interview, please ask him/her kindly not to be there.

### SMS Instructions

11. Surveyor must send the sms interview result (for questions marked) to 9699.

12. Short number 9699 can only receive sms from telkomsel numbers. Surveyor therefore should use telkomsel number to send sms.

13. The surveyor’s telkomsel number must be registered first to area coordinator.

14. Each surveyor shall have “token”.

15. Token is the last 4 (four) digits of the surveyor’s telkomsel number which have been registered.
INTRODUCTION: Assalamu’alaikum, good morning/day/afternoon. We are conducting research on social problems in this area. We study the views of Indonesian Citizens about how this country is managed. Every citizen in Indonesia – who is 17 years old, or older or already married - has the same opportunity to participate in this study. All information will be kept confidential and used for research purposes only. Your participation in the survey is voluntary. Your help is highly appreciated.

For interviewer
Definition of household and income

**HOUSEHOLD** is a group of people who usually live together under the same roof and eat from the same kitchen.

- One household may consist of only one member of the household.
- **HOUSEHOLD** members are all the people who **USUALLY LIVE AND EAT IN THE SAME HOUSEHOLD**, whether adults, children, infants, or those who are travelling (less than 6 months) but do not intend to move, or anyone else who may not be members of the family but ordinarily stay in this household, such as house maids or people who temporarily stay or friends.

**INCOME OF A HOUSEHOLD** is money earned by the household members which increases the total household income.

A housemaid who lives in a household, for example, is not considered earning income. For farmers producing crops for their own household needs, the income **CAN BE ESTIMATED** from the agricultural products consumed when assessed with money.
Sort the name of the household members age 17 years or older or married, female OR male (female and male SHOULD NOT BE MIXED IN KISH GRID), from THE OLDEST to the youngest.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NO</th>
<th>NAME OF HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS AGE 17 YEARS OR OLDER, OR MARRIED</th>
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<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

J. No of people registered in Kish Grid : 

K. Number of adults with voting rights (age 17 years and older or married, both male and female) in the household : 

L. Number of HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS, i.e. all the people living in this household, whether adults, children, infants, or those who are travelling (less than 6 months) but do not intend to move, or anyone else who may not be members of the family but ordinarily stay in this household, such as house maids or people who temporarily stay or friends : 

M. Name of selected Respondent : 

N. Relationship to the head of household : 

O. Address : RT RW 

P. Telephone number/Handphone : 

R1. No of people registered in Kish Grid : 1. ORIGINAL → GO DIRECTLY TO S 2. SUBSTITUTE 

R2. If this is a SUBSTITUTE RESPONDENT, the respondent comes from :
1. THE SAME HOUSEHOLD WITH THE ORIGINAL RESPONDENT
2. DIFFERENT HOUSEHOLDS WITH THE ORIGINAL RESPONDENT
1. How old are you now? Write ............................................................................................................................................................................................ years

2. Are you married?  
   1. Married  
   2. Separated/divorced  
   3. Single - GO DIRECTLY TO NO. 4

3. How many children do you have? ................................................................................................................................................... if no children, write 0

4. SHOW DROP CARD A. Aside from being a citizen of Indonesia, which ethnic group do you belong to? For example Javanese, Sundanese, Malay, Madurese, Bugis, Minang, Batak, etc?
   1. Javanese  
   2. Sundanese  
   3. Malay  
   4. Madurese  
   5. Bugis  
   6. Betawi  
   7. Batak  
   8. Minang  
   9. Banten  
   10. Balinese  
   11. Cirebon  
   12. Chinese

5. What is your religion?  
   1. Islam  
   2. Protestantism  
   3. Catholicism  
   4. Hinduism  
   5. Buddhism  
   6. Confucianism  
   7. Others: ............................................................

6. SHOW DROP CARD B. What is your latest education?  
   1. Never went to school  
   2. Not completed elementary school/ equivalent  
   3. Elementary school/equivalent  
   4. Not completed junior high school/ equivalent  
   5. Junior high school/equivalent  
   6. Not completed high school equivalent  
   7. High school/equivalent  
   8. Not completed college or university/ still a student  
   9. College  
   10. University or higher

7. SHOW DROP CARD C. Do you work?  
   1. Yes  
   2. No, still a student  
   3. No, at home as a housewife  
   4. No, not yet

8. What is your current main occupation? (Please write the type of job in detail)...........................................................................................................................................................................................................................................................................................................
Interviewer Guidelines

- Understand each question well before asking
- Make sure respondents understand questions properly.

Now I will ask about the people of Indonesia. Suppose the Indonesian population is divided into five community groups. Each group has the same number of population, i.e., each has equally one-fifth of the total population. If the Indonesian population is now 250 million people, then each group equally consists of 50 million people. However, the group has five different incomes.

The five community groups are depicted with staircases like this (SHOW STAIRCASE IMAGE):

1. The top of the stairs is one fifth of the population whose income is the highest, or the richest group
2. The second step from the top is one fifth of the population whose income is much, or the rich group
3. The third stair from the top is one fifth of the population whose income is moderate, or the middle group
4. The fourth stair from the top is one fifth of the population whose income is less, or the poor group
5. The bottom of the stairs is one fifth of the population whose income is very little, or the poorest group.

Interviewer Guidelines

- Ask if respondent has understood the explanation of the staircase image. If not, please explain once again from the beginning.
- If respondent has understood, then please show 50 pieces of coins in 500 (five hundred) rupiah denominations. No need to mention the number of coins shown, unless respondent asks.

Here are some coins. Suppose the whole coins are the entire income of Indonesia.

**In your opinion, how much income of each community group in Indonesia IN FACT today?**

To answer this question, try to divide the coins into the five steps.

You do not need to worry that you have a wrong answer. It is your estimation only. Please just be reminded, that the number of coins for the lower step should not be more than the higher step, because the higher step is the richer group.

For example only, if you consider the whole income **NOW IN FACT** belongs to the highest income or the richest group only, put all coins on the top step. If you assume that **NOW IN FACT** all groups have the same income, put all the coins equally on each of the steps.
Interviewer Guidelines

- Remind respondent, that the number of coins placed on a lower step should not be more than the higher step, but the amount could be equal.
- Interviewer needs to assure respondent’s answer. For example, by asking, is it true that you give this much coins to the poorest group? Is it true that you give this much coins to the richest group?
- If respondent is confident with the answer, note the number of coins placed on each step of the stairs in the table below.
- Ensure that all coins placed are 50 pieces in total.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GROUP / STEP</th>
<th>NO OF COINS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. (SMS-E) The highest (the richest)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. (SMS-F) The second (the rich)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. (SMS-G) The third (the middle)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. (SMS-H) The fourth (the poor)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. (SMS-I) The bottom (the poorest)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Attention to Interviewer: Check again the number of coins in the table; the total should be 50)

11. SHOW ONCE AGAIN THE STAIRCASE IMAGE DROP CARD, AND COINS.

Interviewer Guidelines

- Interviewer should remove all coins from the staircase image drop card before start asking questions.
- Read out questions clearly and do not speak too fast.
- Make sure respondent understands questions properly.

Now let’s look back the Staircase Image. And suppose that the whole of the coins is the entire income of Indonesia.

In your opinion, what SHOULD BE the income of each community group in Indonesia?

To answer this question, try to divide back the coins in to the five steps.

You do not need to worry that you have a wrong answer. It is according to your consideration only. Please just be reminded, that the number of coins for the lower step should not be more than the higher step, because the higher step is the richer group.

For example only, if in your opinion the whole income SHOULD belong to the highest income group or the richest group only, then put all the coins on the top step. Or if you consider that all groups SHOULD have the same income, put all the coins equally on each of the steps.
Interviewer Guidelines

- Remind respondent, that the number of coins placed on a lower step should not be more than the higher step, but the amount could be equal.
- Interviewer needs to assure respondent’s answer. For example, by asking, is it true that you give this much coins to the poorest group? Is it true that you give this much coins to the richest group?
- If respondent is confident with the answer, note the number of coins placed on each step of the stairs in the table below.
- Ensure that all coins placed are 50 pieces in total.

**GROUP / STEP** | **NO OF COINS**
--- | ---
A. (SMS-4) The highest (the richest) | 4. Uneven at all
B. (SMS-K) The second (the rich) | 8. Don’t know (TT)/unwilling to answer (TJ)
C. (SMS-L) The third (the middle) | 5. The bottom step
D. (SMS-M) The fourth (the poor) | 8. Don’t know/unwilling to answer
E. (SMS-N) The bottom (the poorest) | 5. The bottom step

**TOTAL** | **50**

(Attention to Interviewer: Check again the number of coins in the table; the total should be 50)

12. **SHOW DROP CARD D.** In your opinion, how evenly or unevenly income of Indonesian people distributed IN FACT now?
   1. Very evenly
   2. Fairly evenly
   3. Uneven
   4. Uneven at all
   8. Don’t know (TT)/unwilling to answer (TJ)

13. **SHOW THE FIVE-STEP IMAGE DROP CARD.** Go back to the five community groups, where the top step is the group whose income is very much and the bottom step is the group whose income is very little. Which step do you approximately place your own household income currently?
   1. The top step
   2. The second step
   3. The third step
   4. The fourth step
   5. The bottom step
   8. Don’t know/unwilling to answer

14. **SHOW THE FIVE-STEP IMAGE DROP CARD.** How about last year, which step do you approximately place your own household income?
   1. The top step
   2. The second step
   3. The third step
   4. The fourth step
   5. The bottom step
   8. Don’t know/unwilling to answer

15. **SHOW THE FIVE-STEP IMAGE DROP CARD.** How about five years ago, which step do you approximately place your own household income?
   1. The top step
   2. The second step
   3. The third step
   4. The fourth step
   5. The bottom step
   8. Don’t know/unwilling to answer

16. **SHOW THE FIVE-STEP IMAGE DROP CARD.** In your opinion, which step was your parents approximately on when they were at your age?
   1. The top step
   2. The second step
   3. The third step
   4. The fourth step
   5. The bottom step
   8. Don’t know/unwilling to answer
Interviewer Guidelines

**EXPLAIN TO RESPONDENT: QUESTIONS NO 17-20** inquire estimates or predictions of respondent, not hope or desire of respondent.

17. **SHOW THE FIVE-STEPS IMAGE DROP CARD.** How about next year, on which step will your own household income approximately be?
   - 1. The top step
   - 2. The second step
   - 3. The third step
   - 4. The fourth step
   - 5. The bottom step
   - 8. Don’t know/unwilling to answer

18. **SHOW THE FIVE-STEPS IMAGE DROP CARD.** How about next five years, on which step will your household income be?
   - 1. The top step
   - 2. The second step
   - 3. The third step
   - 4. The fourth step
   - 5. The bottom step
   - 8. Don’t know/unwilling to answer

19. **SHOW THE FIVE-STEPS IMAGE DROP CARD.** In your opinion, on which step will your children approximately be when they are at your age?
   - 1. The top step
   - 2. The second step
   - 3. The third step
   - 4. The fourth step
   - 5. The bottom step
   - 8. Don’t know/unwilling to answer

20. **SHOW THE FIVE-STEPS IMAGE DROP CARD.** In your opinion, on which step will your grandchildren approximately be when they are at your age?
   - 1. The top step
   - 2. The second step
   - 3. The third step
   - 4. The fourth step
   - 5. The bottom step
   - 8. Don’t know/unwilling to answer

**Interviewer Guidelines**

Show the five drop cards showing images or income portion graphics. Sort the cards from left to right, start from the image a card on the most left, until the image e card on the most right.

21. **(SMS-G)** Here are five images. Each image shows different incomes between the five groups as described previously (the richest, the rich, the middle, the poor, and the poorest groups).

   - **Image A** means the entire income in Indonesia is only owned by the richest group, and
   - **Image E** means income in Indonesia is divided evenly among all community groups. Meanwhile **Images B, C, D** show other income differences.

   In your opinion, which image is a closer picture of income differences between groups in Indonesia **IN FACT** today? Whether such image A, B, C, D, or E
   - 1. Image A
   - 2. Image B
   - 3. Image C
   - 4. Image D
   - 5. Image E
   - 8. Don’t know/unwilling to answer

22. **(SMS-P)** Now if you have power and are asked to divide the incomes into the above five groups in Indonesia.

   In your opinion, how is THE BEST division like? Whether such image A, B, C, D, or E?
   - 1. Image A
   - 2. Image B
   - 3. Image C
   - 4. Image D
   - 5. Image E
   - 8. Don’t know/unwilling to answer
23. **(SMS-G) SHOW DROP CARD E.** Here are two images. Each image shows the difference between income of the five community groups in a country. If you are asked to choose, whether you prefer to live in a country with such income disparity shown in image A or B?

1. Image A
2. Image B

8. Don’t know/unwilling to answer

24. **(SMS-R) SHOW DROP CARD F.** How about this pair of images? If you are asked to choose, whether you prefer to live in a country with such income disparity shown in image A or B?

1. Image A
2. Image B

8. Don’t know/unwilling to answer

25. **(SMS-S) SHOW DROP CARD G.** How about this pair of images? If you are asked to choose, whether you prefer to live in a country with such income disparity shown in image A or B?

1. Image A
2. Image B

8. Don’t know/unwilling to answer

26. **SHOW DROP CARD H.** In your opinion, how changes in income of each group IN FACT over the last five years?
Is the income of each group much reduced, slightly reduced, the same, slightly increased, or much increased?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GROUP</th>
<th>INCOME OVER THE LAST 5 YEARS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MUCH REDUCED</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. The top one fifth (the richest)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. The second one fifth (the rich)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. The third one fifth (the middle)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. The fourth one fifth (the poor)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. The bottom one fifth (the poorest)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

27. **SHOW DROP CARD H.** If you have the power to determine changes in income of the five groups five years to come, how changes in income that SHOULD happen? Is the income of each group should be much reduced, slightly reduced, the same, slightly increased or much increased?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GROUP</th>
<th>INCOME OVER THE LAST 5 YEARS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MUCH REDUCED</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. The top one fifth (the richest)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. The second one fifth (the rich)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. The third one fifth (the middle)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. The fourth one fifth (the poor)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. The bottom one fifth (the poorest)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
28. **SHOW DROP CARD I.** In your opinion, in general how was the income distribution among community groups in Indonesia over the past five years. Was the income much more evenly distributed, more even, no change, more uneven, or far more uneven?

1. Much more even
2. More even
3. No change
4. More uneven
5. Far more uneven
6. Don't know/unwilling to answer

29. **SHOW DROP CARD J.** Let’s talk about the top group or whose income is the most. Of course there are many reasons why they can have very much income. In your opinion, which of the following causes the **most influential** reason? (ONLY ONE ANSWER)?

1. Talent
2. Hard work
3. Lucky/fortunate
4. Come from a wealthy family
5. Come from an educated family
6. Have a lot of connections (friend, colleagues, relatives, etc.)
7. Supportive environment
8. Corruption
9. Others, please specify
88. Don't know/unwilling to answer

30. **SHOW DROP CARD J.** Moreover, what else is the most significant cause? (ONLY ONE ANSWER)?

1. Talent
2. Hard work
3. Lucky/fortunate
4. Come from a wealthy family
5. Come from an educated family
6. Have a lot of connections (friend, colleagues, relatives, etc.)
7. Supportive environment
8. Corruption
9. Others, please specify
88. Don't know/unwilling to answer

31. **SHOW DROP CARD K.** Now let’s talk about the bottom group or whose income is the least. Of course there is also a variety of reasons why they could have just very little income. In your opinion, which of the following causes the **most influential** reason? (ONLY ONE ANSWER)?

1. Talent
2. Hard work
3. Lucky/fortunate
4. Come from a wealthy family
5. Come from an educated family
6. Have a lot of connections (friend, colleagues, relatives, etc.)
7. Supportive environment
8. Unsupportive environment
9. Others, please specify
88. Don't know/unwilling to answer

32. **SHOW DROP CARD K.** Moreover, what else is the most significant cause? (ONLY ONE ANSWER)?

1. Talent
2. Hard work
3. Lucky/fortunate
4. Come from a wealthy family
5. Come from an educated family
6. Have a lot of connections (friend, colleagues, relatives, etc.)
7. Supportive environment
8. Unsupportive environment
9. Others, please specify
88. Don't know/unwilling to answer

33. **SHOW DROP CARD L.** In your opinion, which of the following three statements best describes the current reality in Indonesia?

1. People easily improve their economic condition if they are willing to work hard
2. It is difficult to improve people’s economic condition despite working hard
3. It is almost impossible to improve people’s economic condition despite working hard
4. More uneven
5. Far more uneven
6. Don't know/unwilling to answer

---

**ANNEX A**
34. **SHOW DROP CARD M.** In your opinion, which of the following two statements you agree more?

1. In certain circumstances, the income inequality can be accepted
2. Whatever the reason, the inequality in income cannot be accepted

   → go directly to No. 36

3. Don’t know/unwilling to answer

35. **SHOW DROP CARD N.** If answered “1”, under which circumstances that inequality in income can be accepted most? (ONLY ONE ANSWER)

1. Country/nation as a whole is progressing
2. Poverty rate is reduced
3. Fair competition to obtain wealth
4. People get rich because they work hard or people become poor because they are lazy

5. Prices of basic necessities are affordable by everyone
6. Others, please specify

7. Don’t know/unwilling to answer

36. **SHOW DROP CARD O.** If you are asked to choose, which of the following two circumstances that you favor more?

1. Incomes of the poor rise rapidly, but the disparity in income between the rich and the poor is getting bigger
2. Incomes of the poor rise slowly, but the disparity in income between the rich and the poor is getting smaller

3. Don’t know/unwilling to answer

37. **SHOW DROP CARD P.** In your opinion, how urgent or not urgent the income inequality in Indonesia to be resolved by the Indonesian government?

1. Very urgent
2. Quite urgent
3. Less urgent
4. Not urgent at all

5. Don’t know/unwilling to answer

38. In your knowledge, what government policy or government program that has been done to reduce the income disparity between the rich and the poor in Indonesia? (CAN BE MORE THAN ONE ANSWER)

PLEASE WRITE CLEARLY, DO NOT JUST ABBREVIATIONS:

1. ..........................................................................................................................................................................................
2. ..........................................................................................................................................................................................
3. ..........................................................................................................................................................................................

4. ..........................................................................................................................................................................................
5. ..........................................................................................................................................................................................

39. (TO BE FILLED OUT DIRECTLY BY INTERVIEWER IN ACCORDANCE WITH ANSWER NO. 38)

1. Subsidized rice (Raskin)
2. Conditional Cash Transfer (PKH)
3. Educational Support Fund for poor students (BSM)
4. School Operational Support Fund (BOS)
5. National Program for Community Empowerment (PNPM)
6. Temporary Community Direct Assistance (BLSM)
7. Unconditional Cash Transfer (BLT)
8. Credit for the People (KUR)
9. Sub-District Development Program (PPK)
10. Urban Poverty Reduction Program (P2KP)

11. PNPM for Lagged and Specific Area (P2DTK)
12. Regional Infrastructure Social Economic Development Program (PISEW)
13. Social Health Insurance (JAMKESMAS) / Regional Health Insurance (JAMKESDA)
14. Fuel subsidy
15. Others, please specify

88. Don’t know/unwilling to answer

40. In your opinion, what should be done by the new President of Indonesia to reduce income inequality in Indonesia? (CAN BE MORE THAN ONE ANSWER) WRITE CLEARLY:

1. ..........................................................................................................................................................................................
2. ..........................................................................................................................................................................................
3. ..........................................................................................................................................................................................
41. (TO BE FILLED OUT DIRECTLY BY INTERVIEWER IN ACCORDANCE WITH ANSWER NO. 40)

1. Subsidized rice (Raskin)
2. Conditional Cash Transfer (PKH)
3. Educational Support Fund for poor students (BSM)
4. School Operational Support Fund (BOS)
5. National Program for Community Empowerment (PNPM)
6. Temporary Community Direct Assistance (BLSM)
7. Unconditional Cash Transfer (BLT)
8. Credit for the People (KUR)
9. Sub-District Development Program (PPK)
10. Urban Poverty Reduction Program (P2KP)
11. PNPM for Lagged and Specific Area (P2DTK)
12. Regional Infrastructure Social Economic Development Program (PISEW)
13. Social Health Insurance (JAMKESMAS) / Regional Health Insurance (JAMKESDA)
14. Fuel subsidy
15. Others, please specify ........................................
..................................................................................
88. Don’t know/unwilling to answer

42. SHOW DROP CARD Q. In your opinion, which of the following is the most important matter to be done by the new President of Indonesia to reduce income inequality in Indonesia? (ONLY ONE ANSWER)

1. Provide social protection for the poor and vulnerable households (for example, subsidised rice, direct cash assistance, scholarship, social health insurance, employee social security, etc.)
2. Add grants/aids for Village/Urban Village (for example, National Program for Community Empowerment PNPM)
3. Provide free education for all people
4. Provide free medical care for all people
5. Build better infrastructures (roads, electricity, bridges, etc)
6. Raise taxes on the richer
7. Fight corruption
8. Raise the minimum wage
9. Fair ownership of assets (for example land, forests, mines, etc.) for public
10. Provide better schools
11. Provide more subsidies (for example, for agricultural needs, food, fuel)
12. Provide jobs
13. Social insurance for people who lose their jobs
14. Capital assistance for small businesses
15. Loans for poor people (not for business purposes)
16. Others, please specify ........................................
..................................................................................
88. Don’t know/unwilling to answer

43. SHOW DROP CARD Q. Besides, what else is the second most important matter to be done by the new President of Indonesia to reduce income inequality in Indonesia? (ONLY ONE ANSWER)

1. Provide social protection for the poor and vulnerable households (for example, subsidised rice, direct cash assistance, scholarship, social health insurance, employee social security, etc.)
2. Add grants/aids for Village/Urban Village (for example, National Program for Community Empowerment PNPM)
3. Provide free education for all people
4. Provide free medical care for all people
5. Build better infrastructures (roads, electricity, bridges, etc)
6. Raise taxes on the richer
7. Fight corruption
8. Raise the minimum wage
9. Fair ownership of assets (for example land, forests, mines, etc.) for public
10. Provide better schools
11. Provide more subsidies (for example, for agricultural needs, food, fuel)
12. Provide jobs
13. Social insurance for people who lose their jobs
14. Capital assistance for small businesses
15. Loans for poor people (not for business purposes)
16. Others, please specify ........................................
..................................................................................
88. Don’t know/unwilling to answer
44. **SHOW DROP CARD Q** Besides, what else is the third most important matter to be done by the new President of Indonesia to reduce income inequality in Indonesia? *(ONLY ONE ANSWER)*

1. Provide social protection for the poor and vulnerable households (for example, subsidised rice, direct cash assistance, scholarship, social health insurance, employee social security, etc.)
2. Add grants/aides for Village/Urban Village (for example, National Program for Community Empowerment PNPM)
3. Provide free education for all people
4. Provide free medical care for all people
5. Build better infrastructures (roads, electricity, bridges, etc)
6. Raise taxes on the richer
7. Fight corruption
8. Raise the minimum wage
9. Fair ownership of assets (for example land, forests, mines, etc.) for public
10. Provide better schools
11. Provide more subsidies (for example, for agricultural needs, food, fuel)
12. Provide jobs
13. Social insurance for people who lose their jobs
14. Capital assistance for small businesses
15. Loans for poor people (not for business purposes)
16. Others, please specify

88. Don’t know/unwilling to answer

45. *(SMS-T)* The presidential election in 2014 will take place sometime later. But if the presidential election took place today, **who would you choose** as our president? ............................................................................................................................................................................................................

...............................................................................................................................................................................................................

46. *(SMS-U)* **SHOW DROP CARD R-1.** If the presidential election held today, who would you elect as the president among the following names?

1. Joko Widodo (jokowi)
2. Prabowo Subianto
3. Joko Widodo (jokowi) and M. Jusuf Kalla
4. Prabowo Subianto and Hatta Rajasa
8. Don’t know/unwilling to answer

47. *(SMS-V)* **SHOW DROP CARD R-1.** If the presidential election held today, who would you elect as the president and vice president among the following names?

1. Joko Widodo (jokowi) and M. Jusuf Kalla
2. Prabowo Subianto and Hatta Rajasa
8. Don’t know/unwilling to answer

48. *(SMS-W)* When discussing the election with others, we find many people who are unable to vote because they are far from home, being ill, do not have the time or other reasons. How about yourself? Did you vote in the general election of members of House of Representatives / Legislative Council in 2014 that just took place sometime ago?

1. Yes voting
2. Not voting: **go directly to No. 51**
8. Unable to vote: **go directly to No. 51**
8. Refused to answer: **go directly to No. 50**

49. *(SMS-X)* **SHOW THE LIST OF 12 POLITICAL PARTIES.** If “YES VOTING”, which political party did you vote in the election?

1. National Democratic Party (Nasdem)
2. National Awakening Party (PKB)
3. Prosperous Justice Party (PKS)
4. Indonesian Democratic Party - Struggle (PDI-P)
5. Party of The Functional Groups (Golkar)
6. Great Indonesia Movement Party (Gerindra)
7. Democratic Party (PD)
8. National Mandate Party (PAN)
9. United Development Party (PPP)
10. People’s conscience Party (Hanura)
11. Crescent Star Party (PBB)
15. Indonesian Justice and Unity Party (PKPI)
88. Secret/unwilling to answer
50. (SMS*) SHOW THE LIST OF 12 POLITICAL PARTIES. If “YES VOTING”, but “Secret”, which political party do you think best represents your wishes?

1. National Democratic Party (Nasdem)  
2. National Awakening Party (PKB)  
3. Prosperous Justice Party (PKS)  
4. Indonesian Democratic Party - Struggle (PDI-P)  
5. Party of The Functional Groups (Golkar)  
6. Great Indonesia Movement Party (Gerindra)  
7. Democratic Party (PD)  
8. National Mandate Party (PAN)  
9. United Development Party (PPP)  
10. People’s conscience Party (Hanura)  
11. Great Indonesia Movement Party (Gerindra)  
12. Indonesian Justice and Unity Party (PKPI)  
13. Secret/unwilling to answer

51. SHOW DROP CARD S. If “NOT VOTING” please explain why?

1. Election does not do any good  
2. Elections only benefit others  
3. Don’t know which party or member of the House of Representatives to choose  
4. No party or member of the House of Representatives who could fulfill hopes  
5. Not registered as a voter  
6. Registered but cannot vote because did not prepare A5 form  
7. Others reason, please write ........................................
   ........................................................................................
8. Cannot vote  
9. Refused to answer

SHOW DROP CARD T. In the past month, how often did you follow the news related to social issues or politics at the national or regional level through the following mass media?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MASS MEDIA</th>
<th>EVERY DAY OR ALMOST EVERY DAY</th>
<th>3-4 DAYS A WEEK</th>
<th>1-2 DAYS A WEEK</th>
<th>RARELY (NOT EVERY WEEK)</th>
<th>NEVER</th>
<th>DON’T KNOW/ UNWILLING TO ANSWER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>52. Newspaper</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53. News Magazine</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54. TV</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55. Radio</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56. Internet</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
57. Please state the names of your household members age 15 years and over, both male and female, including yourself.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CODE</th>
<th>NAMES OF HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS (HM) AGE 15 YEARS AND OVER, BOTH MALE AND FEMALE, INCLUDING RESPONDENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HM 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HM 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HM 3</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>HM 4</td>
<td></td>
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<td>HM 5</td>
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<td>HM 6</td>
<td></td>
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<td>HM 7</td>
<td></td>
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<td>HM 8</td>
<td></td>
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<td>HM 9</td>
<td></td>
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<td>HM 10</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>HM 11</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>HM 12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HM 13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HM 14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HM 15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

58. (TO BE FILLED OUT DIRECTLY BY INTERVIEWER) Among the household members age 15 years and over stated above, which one is the respondent? (CIRCLE HOUSEHOLD MEMBER CODE ACCORDING TO THE TABLE IN QUESTION NO. 57)

1. HM 1  
2. HM 2  
3. HM 3  
4. HM 4  
5. HM 5  
6. HM 6  
7. HM 7  
8. HM 8  
9. HM 9  
10. HM 10 
11. HM 11 
12. HM 12 
13. HM 13 
14. HM 14 
15. HM 15 

59. Among the above household members age 15 years and over, who earns the highest income? (ONLY ONE ANSWER)

1. HM 1  
2. HM 2  
3. HM 3  
4. HM 4  
5. HM 5  
6. HM 6  
7. HM 7  
8. HM 8  
9. HM 9  
10. HM 10 
11. HM 11 
12. HM 12 
13. HM 13 
14. HM 14 
15. HM 15 

60. (INTERVIEWER: IF RESPONDENT IS THE HIGHEST INCOME EARNER, GO DIRECTLY TO NO. 62. IF NOT, CONTINUE) What is the main occupation of this person whose income is the greatest? PLEASE WRITE IN DETAILS

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61. **(TO BE FILLED OUT DIRECTLY BY INTERVIEWER IN ACCORDANCE WITH ANSWER NO. 60)** Does the highest income fall under one of the following groups?

1. Farmer/breeder/fisherman
2. Laborer/helper
3. Workshop/service
4. Driver/motorcycle taxi driver
5. Security guard/civil defense (hansip)
6. Kerja tidak tetap
7. Stall merchant/street vendor
8. Large trader/wholesaler
9. Businessman
10. Village/urban village official
11. Employee/private sector employee
12. Civil servant (PNS)
13. Teacher/lecturer
14. Professional (lawyer/doctor/etc.)
15. Retired
88. None of the above

62. **(SMS/2) SHOW DROP CARD U.** What is the approximate amount in rupiah, average in a month, of income earned by the highest income generator above? (IF RESPONDENT DOES NOT KNOW AT ALL, ASK OTHER HOUSEHOLD MEMBER WHO HAS THE KNOWLEDGE)?

1. Below 200 thousand
2. 200-399 thousand
3. 400-599 thousand
4. 600-799 thousand
5. 800-999 thousand
6. 1 million -1.199 million
7. 1.2-1.399 million
8. 1.4-1.599 million
9. 1.6-1.799 million
10. 1.8-1.999 million
11. 2 million – 4 million
12. Above 4 million

63. **In addition to the person earning the highest income** above, who else in the household works or earns a living? (ONLY ONE ANSWER)

1. HM 1
2. HM 2
3. HM 3
4. HM 4
5. HM 5
6. HM 6
7. HM 7
8. HM 8
9. HM 9
10. HM 10
11. HM 11
12. HM 12
13. HM 13
14. HM 14
15. HM
88. No one else
→ go directly to No. 71

64. **(SMS/2) SHOW DROP CARD U.** What is the approximate amount in rupiah, average in a month, of income earned by the person above? (IF RESPONDENT DOES NOT KNOW AT ALL, ASK OTHER HOUSEHOLD MEMBER WHO HAS THE KNOWLEDGE)

1. Below 200 thousand
2. 200-399 thousand
3. 400-599 thousand
4. 600-799 thousand
5. 800-999 thousand
6. 1 million -1.199 million
7. 1.2-1.399 million
8. 1.4-1.599 million
9. 1.6-1.799 million
10. 1.8-1.999 million
11. 2 million – 4 million
12. Above 4 million
65. **(TO BE FILLED OUT DIRECTLY BY INTERVIEWER IN ACCORDANCE WITH ANSWER NO. 60)** Does the highest income fall under one of the following groups?

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. HM 1</td>
<td>10. HM 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. HM 2</td>
<td>11. HM 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. HM 3</td>
<td>12. HM 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. HM 4</td>
<td>13. HM 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. HM 5</td>
<td>14. HM 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. HM 6</td>
<td>15. HM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. HM 7</td>
<td>88. No one else</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. HM 8</td>
<td><strong>go directly to No. 71</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. HM 9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

66. **SHOW DROP CARD U.** What is the approximate amount in rupiah, average in a month, of income earned by the person above? *(IF RESPONDENT DOES NOT KNOW AT ALL, ASK OTHER HOUSEHOLD MEMBER WHO HAS THE KNOWLEDGE)*

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Below 200 thousand</td>
<td>7. 1.2-1.399 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. 200-399 thousand</td>
<td>8. 1.4-1.599 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. 400-599 thousand</td>
<td>9. 1.6-1.799 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. 600-799 thousand</td>
<td>10. 1.8-1.999 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. 800-999 thousand</td>
<td>11. 2 million – 4 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. 1 million-1.199 million</td>
<td>12. Above 4 million</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

67. **Who else in the household works or earns a living? (ONLY ONE ANSWER)**

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. HM 1</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. HM 2</td>
<td>11. HM 11</td>
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<td>3. HM 3</td>
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<td>14. HM 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. HM 6</td>
<td>15. HM 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. HM 7</td>
<td>88. No one else</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. HM 8</td>
<td><strong>go directly to No. 71</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. HM 9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

68. **SHOW DROP CARD U.** What is the approximate amount in rupiah, average in a month, of income earned by the person above? *(IF RESPONDENT DOES NOT KNOW AT ALL, ASK OTHER HOUSEHOLD MEMBER WHO HAS THE KNOWLEDGE)*

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Below 200 thousand</td>
<td>7. 1.2-1.399 million</td>
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</tr>
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<td>5. 800-999 thousand</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. 1 million-1.199 million</td>
<td>12. Above 4 million</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

69. **Who else in the household works or earns a living? (ONLY ONE ANSWER)**

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. HM 1</td>
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<td>2. HM 2</td>
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<td>6. HM 6</td>
<td>15. HM 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. HM 7</td>
<td>88. No one else</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. HM 8</td>
<td><strong>go directly to No. 71</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. HM 9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
70. **SHOW DROP CARD U.** What is the approximate amount in rupiah, average in a month, of income earned by the person above? *(IF THE RESPONDENT DOES NOT KNOW AT ALL, ASK THE OTHER HOUSEHOLD MEMBER WHO HAS THE KNOWLEDGE).*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Amount in Rupiah</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Below 200 thousand</td>
<td>1.2-1.399 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. 200-399 thousand</td>
<td>1.4-1.599 million</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. 2 million – 4 million</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Above 4 million</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

71. In the last three months, did your household get remittances from people living outside the household, for example, remittances from children or relatives who work in the city, overseas, etc.?  

1. Yes  
2. No → **go directly to No. 73**

72. **SHOW DROP CARD U.** If Yes, what was the approximate amount in rupiah of remittances received in a month? *(IF RESPONDENT DOES NOT KNOW AT ALL, ASK OTHER HOUSEHOLD MEMBER WHO HAS THE KNOWLEDGE).*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Amount in Rupiah</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Below 200 thousand</td>
<td>1.2-1.399 million</td>
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<td>2. 200-399 thousand</td>
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<td>11. 2 million – 4 million</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Above 4 million</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

73. In the last three months, did your household remit money to other parties outside this household?  

1. Yes  
2. No → **go directly to No. 73**

74. **SHOW DROP CARD U.** If Yes, what was the approximate amount in rupiah of the remittances sent in a month? *(IF RESPONDENT DOES NOT KNOW AT ALL, ASK OTHER HOUSEHOLD MEMBER WHO HAS THE KNOWLEDGE).*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Amount in Rupiah</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Below 200 thousand</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Above 4 million</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR COOPERATION
**Interviewer Evaluation**

**W1.** Interviews completed at: ...........................................................................................................................................................................................................................

**W2.** Is respondent literate?

1. Yes
2. No

**X.** Was respondent checked/monitored via telephone by Area Coordinator/assistant?

1. Yes
2. No

**Y.** Is there any cellular phone signal around the area of respondent’s house? (Check your handphone, and find out information on other cellular telecommunication providers to respondent or people around the area).

1. There is Telkomsel signal
2. There is Indosat signal
9. Others cellular phone signal, please specify ..................................................
88. No signal at all

**Y1.** Was interview conducted in Bahasa Indonesia or other language?

1. Bahasa Indonesia
2. Other language
3. Mixed (Bahasa Indonesia & other language)

**Y2.** Was there anyone else present in the interview?

1. Yes
2. No → go directly to Y5

**Y3.** Who was the other person? (Answer can be more than one)

1. Husband/wife/parents/other household member in the same household
2. Neighbor
3. Village officials (Head of Village or Urban Village Head/Secretary of the village/Neighborhood Association/Community Association)
4. Others, ................................................................

**Y4.** Was the other person intervened the interview process?

1. No
2. Yes, but a little
3. Yes, alot

**Y5.** Was the respondent willing to cooperate in this interview?

1. Very less
2. Less willing
3. Yes, quite
4. Yes, very much

**Y6.** Was the respondent willing to cooperate in this interview?

1. Yes, almost all questions
2. Yes, most of them
3. Yes, about half of them
4. Yes, about one quarter of them
5. Yes, about 10%
6. Yes, but less than 10%
7. Almost all of them can be understood well
Y7. What was the **most difficult** question understood by respondent?

Y8. According to your assessment, how **trustworthy** respondent in answering the questions?

1. Very less
2. Less willing
3. Yes, quite
4. Yes, very much

Z1. House of the respondent:

1. Housing complex
2. Not housing complex

Z2. Area of respondent’s house (**BASED ON INTERVIEWER’S ESTIMATION**):

1. \( \leq 10 \text{ m}^2 \)
2. 11-20 \text{ m}^2
3. 21-30 \text{ m}^2
4. 31-40 \text{ m}^2
5. 41-50 \text{ m}^2
6. 51-60 \text{ m}^2
7. 61-70 \text{ m}^2
8. 71-80 \text{ m}^2
9. 81-90 \text{ m}^2
10. 91-100 \text{ m}^2
11. 101-110 \text{ m}^2
12. 111-120 \text{ m}^2
13. 121-130 \text{ m}^2
14. 131-140 \text{ m}^2
15. 141-150 \text{ m}^2
16. 151-160 \text{ m}^2
17. 161-170 \text{ m}^2
18. 171-180 \text{ m}^2
19. 181-190 \text{ m}^2
20. 191-200 \text{ m}^2
21. 201-250 \text{ m}^2
22. 251-300 \text{ m}^2
23. 301-400 \text{ m}^2
24. 401-500 \text{ m}^2
25. 500-700 \text{ m}^2

Z3. According to interviewer’s assessment, how was the condition of the respondent’s house?

1. Luxurious
2. Quite luxurious
3. Moderate
4. Quite simple
5. Simple

Z4. Does respondent own a car?

1. Yes
2. No

**Identity of The Original Respondent Who Cannot Be Interviewed**

Z6. Sources of information of original respondent who could not be interviewed:

1. Family member
2. There is Indosat signal
3. Neighbor
4. Others: ..........................................................
Z8. Telephone of information source : .................................................................

Z9. Name of the head of household (KK) of original respondent : .................................................................

Z10. Name of original respondent who should have been interviewed : .................................................................

Z11. Gender of original respondent :
1. Male 2. Female

Z12. Age of original respondent : ......................................................................................................................... Years

Z13. Ethnic group of original respondent :
1. Javanese 8. Minang
2. Sundanese 9. Banten
5. Bugis 12. Chinese
7. Batak

Z14. Religion of original respondent :
1. Islam 5. Buddhism
2. Protestantism 6. Confucianism
3. Catholicism 7. Others : ............................................................
4. Hinduism

Z15. Education of original respondent :
1. Never went to school 6. Not completed high school/equivalent
2. Not completed elementary school/equivalent 7. High school/equivalent
3. Elementary school/equivalent 8. Not completed college or university/still a student
4. Not completed junior high school/equivalent 9. College
5. Junior high school/equivalent 10. University or higher
Z16. Occupation of original respondent:

1. Farmer
2. Breeder
3. Fisherman
4. Laborer/helper
5. Workshop/service
6. Driver/motorcycle taxi driver
7. Security guard/civil defense (hansip)
8. No permanent job
9. Stall merchant/street vendor
10. Large trader/wholesaler
11. Small entrepreneur
12. Business/large contractor
13. Village/urban village official
14. Employee/private sector employee
15. Civil servant (PNS)
16. Teacher/lecturer
17. Professional (lawyer/doctor/etc.)
18. Retired
19. Student/still in college
20. Housewife
21. Unable to find work
22. Others, please specify: .................................. 

Z17. Reasons original respondent could not be interviewed:

1. Refused to be interviewed
2. Too old
3. Illness
4. Away for school outside survey area
5. Away for work outside survey area
6. Others: ...................................................................

Z18. House of respondent:

1. Housing complex
2. Not housing complex

Z19. Area of respondent’s house (BASED ON INTERVIEWER’S ESTIMATION):

1. < 10 m² 15. 141-150 m²
2. 11-20 m² 16. 151-160 m²
3. 21-30 m² 17. 161-170 m²
4. 31-40 m² 18. 171-180 m²
5. 41-50 m² 19. 181-190 m²
6. 51-60 m² 20. 191-200 m²
7. 61-70 m² 21. 201-250 m²
8. 71-80 m² 22. 251-300 m²
9. 81-90 m² 23. 301-400 m²
10. 91-100 m² 24. 401-500 m²
11. 101-110 m² 25. 500-700 m²
12. 111-120 m² 26. 701-1000 m²
13. 121-130 m² 27. > 1000 m²
14. 131-140 m²

Z20. According to interviewer’s assessment, how is the condition of respondent’s house?

1. Luxurious
2. Quite luxurious
3. Moderate
4. Quite simple
5. Simple

Z21. Does the respondent seem to have a car?

1. Yes
2. No
Profile of Original Respondent Who Could Not Be Interviewed
As a Reference For Respondent Substitution

SURVEYOR GUIDELINES: Copy the answers of questions Z11-Z19 to the multiple choice questions AA1-AA8 below

**AA1. Gender of original respondent:**
1. Male
2. Female

**AA2. Age of original respondent:**
1. Below 25 years
2. 25-40 years
3. 41-55 years
4. Above 55 years

**AA3. Ethnic group of original respondent:**
1. Javanese
2. Sundanese
3. Others

**AA4. Religion of original respondent:**
1. Islam
2. Others

**AA5. Education of original respondent:**
1. Elementary school or below (for answer codes 1-3 on question Z15)
2. Junior high school or High school (for answer codes 4-7 on question Z15)
3. College (for answer codes 8-10 on question Z15)

**AA6. Occupation of original respondent:**
1. Elementary school or below (for answer codes 1-3 on question Z15)
2. Junior high school or High school (for answer codes 4-7 on question Z15)
3. College (for answer codes 8-10 on question Z15)

**AA7. House of original respondent:**
1. Housing complex
2. Not housing complex

**AA8. Area of original respondent's house:**
1. < 50 m² (for answer codes 1-5 on question Z19)
2. > 50 m² (for answer codes 6-27 on question Z19)
### Annex B. Survey Sample Demographics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CATEGORIES</th>
<th>% IN SAMPLE</th>
<th>% NAT'L ADULT POPULATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>GENDER</strong></td>
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<td>Female</td>
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</table>
Age Distribution

“What is your current age?”

Age Grouping In Analysis

The age groups below were chosen for two reasons:
1. No a priori assumptions about particular age thresholds that affect perceptions about inequality;
2. Maintaining roughly equal group sizes.

Age groups
Education Groups

Education groups were constructed based on the response to survey question V_6. Due to the small sizes of “in-between” groups, i.e. respondents that started the next level of education but did not complete them, the analysis groups those groups downwards, e.g. “did not complete SMP” is included in “Completed SD”, etc. The final five groups used are:

1. No education completed
2. Completed SD (primary school)
3. Completed SMP (junior high school)
4. Completed SMA (senior high school)
5. Completed tertiary education

Responses to survey question:

Clustered responses:

Income groups

Household income approximations were constructed based on responses to questions V_62 to V_70 (see Annex A), which capture up to five main income sources for the household. The questions were structured as follows:

1. Below 200 thousand
2. 200-399 thousand
3. 400-599 thousand
4. 600-799 thousand
5. 800-999 thousand
6. 1 million -1.199 million
7. 1.2-1.399 million
8. 1.4-1.599 million
9. 1.6-1.799 million
10. 1.8-1.999 million
11. 2 million – 4 million
12. Above 4 million

The total household monthly income is obtained by using the maximum of the answer range (199 thousand, 399 thousand, 599 thousand, etc.) and summing up all five income sources. This number is then divided by the reported number of household members, resulting in a per capita household monthly income.

The per capita household monthly income is then compared to the three different dividers: the poverty line, 1.5 times the poverty line, and 3.5 times the poverty line. This results in four income class groups: the Poor (below the poverty line), the Vulnerable (between the poverty line and 1.5 times the poverty line), the Emerging Consumer Class (between 1.5 and 3.5 times the poverty line), and the Consumer Class (above 3.5 times the poverty line). This methodology is discussed further in The World Bank’s Report on the Indonesian Middle Class. The poverty lines used are based on the September 2013 National Socio-Economic Survey (Survei Sosio-Ekonomi National, Susenas), and are different for urban and rural respondents in each province.
# Annex C. Demographic Cross-Tabulations

1. “How equally is income distributed in Indonesia?”
(Question V_12 in Annex A)

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<th></th>
<th>VERY EQUAL</th>
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<th>QUITE UNEQUAL</th>
<th>NOT EQUAL AT ALL</th>
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2. “How should income be distributed in Indonesia?”
(Question V_11 in Annex A)

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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3. If you had the ability to divide national income among five groups, which of the images below is the best one? (Question V_12 in Annex A)

A

B

C

D

E
4. “How urgent is it for government to reduce inequality?”
(Question V_37 in Annex A)
5. “Which of these scenarios do you favor more?” (Question V_36 in Annex A)

6. Is “this policy” one of the three most important for reducing inequality? (V_42, V_43, V_44)
Free educational for all

Free healthcare for all

Better infrastructure

Reach text on the reach
### National Survey Instrument: Community Social Issues

#### Annex C

<table>
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</table>

**Factors**
- All
- Poor
- Vulnerable
- ECC
- CC
- 17-30
- 31-40
- 41-50
- 51+
- No education
- SD
- SMP
- SMA
- Tertiary
- Male
- Female
- Rural
- Urban

**Values**
- 0
- 5
- 10
- 15
- 20
- 25
- 30
- 35
- 40
- 45
- 50
- 55
- 60

**Notes**
- The chart displays the distribution of factors across different categories and values.